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At the turn of the nineteenth century Korea was not fully aware of the rapid changes of world power, and belated in accepting new technology and in raising national power. On the other hand imperial Japan which adapted western modernization in fast manner planned to annex Korea from long time before and awaiting only a decision on its timing. In August 29, 1910, Sunjong, the last king of Yi Dynasty was forced to issue a proclamation yielding up both his throne and his country. In the preamble of the annexation treaty, it declared that Japan's annexation of Korea was intended to promote the common weal of two nations and to assure permanent peace in Asia. However, it is well known that Japan colonized Korea to enhance the prosperity of Japanese people at the expense of the people of Korea. Moreover, "in the years ahead Korea would provide Japan a springboard for its invasion of China, which would in fact shatter still further the peace of Asia." (Lee, 313)

After annexation, there were at least three distinctive approaches of independent movement: 1) The armed struggle of independence forces outside Korea, 2) the diplomatic maneuvers of patriots who had taken refuge in foreign lands, and 3) the energetic work within Korea of the clandestine organizations and educational bodies. The March First Movement busted out of Korean people's resistance spirit against Japanese harsh colonial rule and also was inspired by Woodrow Wilson's call for "self-determination of small nations." On March 1, 1919, two days before the funeral rites for the former King, Kojong, 33 representatives of the Korean people (16 were Christian leaders) promulgated a Declaration of Independence, and proclaimed that Korea now had become an independent nation. Students also gathered in Seoul's (Pagoda Park) to hear the Declaration read aloud and then marched through the streets in peaceful procession, holding aloft the Korean flag and shouting in unison, 대한독립만세 (Long live Korean independence!). It was a nation-wide protest against Japanese oppressive rule, and lasted about a year. More than 2 million Koreans in every walk of life participated, and among them at least 20% were Christians. (At that time Christians were only 1.3% of whole population.) (Yi, 355)

These unarmed and peaceful demonstrations were immediately crushed by military force. The atrocities of Japanese retaliation upon Korean people and churches were at most times beyond description. In the most cruel acts of suppression, like that at the village of 제암리 (Cheam-ni), 30 people were herded into a church which was then set afire to burn them alive (29 were killed; 23 Christians, 6 Chondokyojin). (한국기독교역사 II, 36)

In consequence, Japan's propaganda that the Korean people had willingly submitted to Japanese rule, now was exposed as mere fabrications, and world opinion became extremely critical of Japan's actions in Korea. Accordingly, Japan had to change its colonial policy in Korea, which is so-called enlightened

administration.

Unsolved Problems : About 50 years after the independence of Korea (August 15, 1945), Korean (Korean-American) people are still fighting for following issues to be solved.

- The full apology from the Japanese Emperor
- The correction of their school textbooks in relation to their annexation of Korea
- The recognition and compensation for so-called "comfort women" forcibly drafted for sexual service to Japanese troops
- The improvement of legal status and maltreatment of Korean-Japanese in Japan

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** Video, "Shimon," by Kaz Takeuchi (Korean-Japanese's struggle for their legal status) available in Asian American Program office. Contact Mr. Jhu

*** materials on "comfort women" are available. Contact Jung-Sook Lee (SBN 94)

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The Moral Failure in Korea.
Responsibility of the Japanese Government and Nation.
(Copied from Japan Advertiser, Tokyo,
May 28-19

by Albertus Pieters)

The situation in Korea is serious. Serious for the Koreans, it is more serious for the Japanese people at large, and the most serious thing of all is that the Japanese officials and people alike appear to have no idea how serious it really is. Not to deal in any degree with unsupported rumor, let us consider the case of the massacre at Sei gen (Korean reading Sei won), of which full and well authenticated reports appeared in the Japan Advertiser of Apr 27th & 29th. In outline, the facts of the case are as follows:

Presumably as the result of local disturbances, the details of which have not been made public, a detachment of Japanese soldiers was sent to Chai-am-di, a village near Sei gen. The disturbance of the place existed at the time of their arrival, but the men of the village were summoned to assemble in the Christian church, which they did to the number of nearly 50, all entirely unarmed. What happened is not known in detail, but presumably these men were all put to death and the building was burned over them.

Upon the facts being reported to the Governor-General by a delegation of missionaries, he admitted that these things had happened, assured his visitors that the people responsible had been punished, and told them that they might rest assured that there would be no recurrence of such happenings.

Now please that all this was not an act of war. No state of war exists in Korea, or could very well exist, as the people have been completely disarmed. Neither was it done by a few roving or intoxicated soldiers who had gotten out of hand, but by an organized detachment acting under orders of their regular officers. There was no resistance or riot to be quelled at the time. There was no judicial investigation of any alleged offence, although the courts are fully organized and regularly sitting in Korea. It was unprovoked, deliberate, cold blooded murder, for which no mitigation or excuse has been alleged. What has been done about it, or is to be done about it?

A month has passed since these things were made public. Three columns of the Japan Advertiser, and the world has been waiting with some impatience for an answer to that question. The Governor-General assured the missionaries that the persons responsible had been ~~sent~~ punished. I respectfully submit that this is not sufficient information. Who were held responsible, and what punishment was considered appropriate for such a crime? Was the officer who was in command of that detachment court-martialled and shot? Or was he dismissed the service in disgrace, or suspended on half-pay for a month or two, or reprimanded, or merely told to be good hereafter? Or has he been punished by being promoted to a higher post?

The question is a serious one. What in the opinion of the High Command of the Japanese Army is a suitable punishment for a crime that has caused the blood to boil in the veins of every decent man that has heard of it through the world and the in Korea will "stir a fever in the blood of age and make the infants sincere strong as steel." The degree of punishment meted out will be a fair index to the views of humanity and decency entertained by the masters of the military machine in Japan, and the world has a legitimate interest in knowing what their views are, for at the mercy of that machine are some 15 millions in Korea, with other millions in Formosa; and the same machine is to be the mandating for certain wants of civilization in the Pacific.

There are who are the persons "responsible" ? Primarily the officer in charge of the detachment; to be sure, but is he the only one? What is Governor-General Hasegawa's view of his own responsibility in this matter? He is in absolute command of the military forces of Japan in Korea. Hence he is the custodian of the lives of the inhabitants and of the crown of his country and the sovereign. Only three possible hypotheses present themselves. Either the crime was carried out by his orders, or it was contrary to his orders, or he had failed to give such instructions that they could know it was contrary to his will. Let us exclude the first, for to admit it in the face of his reply to the missionaries would make the Governor-General out to be such a monster of cruelty and of hypocrisy as we refuse to contemplate. If it was contrary to his orders, we have a lamentable spectacle of weakness and incompetence, for then we much believe that General Hasegawa has his soldiers so poorly under control that his orders are flagrantly disregarded. That also is hardly credible.

The third hypothesis is most acceptable, and agrees with his own declaration, for he assures his interviewer that nothing of the kind will happen again. He appears quite confident that a word from him will effectually put a stop to anything of the kind. That is quite as it should be, but when there remains this question: "Why was that word not spoken earlier?" The massacre at Su-ju took place three weeks after trouble began in Korea. Did it never occur to Gen. Hasegawa that his troops might need instructions? Was it left to the judgment of every corporal or lieutenant in the Japanese army to kill or to save alive at his discretion until this outrage in a belated manner caused it to occur to Gen. Hasegawa that they might be instructed not to kill and burn indiscriminately? This only remaining theory does not make the case much better for the Gov. General of Korea. Nearly 50 men are dead near Su-ju because the Gov. General thought too late of ordering that they should not be murdered.

General Hasegawa, strangely enough, seems to feel no responsibility. Alas, Gen. Nogi was right in saying that the spirit of "Bushido" is dead. In the old days, samurai who had so brought disgrace upon his lord would have added point to his apology by committing "hara-kiri". If General Hasegawa is too modern to commit suicide which indeed we do not wish him to do, he should at least have informed the delegation that waited upon him that he accepted full responsibility for this regrettable occurrence, and that he had already called his resignation to Tokyo. That would have been a manly thing to do. Such an action would have been understood by every soldier in the Japanese army, and throughout the world. This an inane and contemptible business for the Governor-General to declare that the "persons responsible" for the Su-ju massacre have been punished and to ignore his own responsibility.

But is there no further responsibility, beyond that of the Gov. General? What about the moral responsibility of the Japanese people at large? With the deepest concern I have been waiting for the past month, as I am sure have many other friends of Japan, to find expression in a public protest against this outrage. I have waited in vain. The Japanese residents in Korea outnumber the foreigners many times over, and among them are men of high education and prominent position. The facts were as accessible to them as to the foreigners, but it was left to the latter to wait upon the Gov. General and protest against this crime. Why was there no delegation of prominent Japanese doing the same thing?

Tokyo is the nerve center of the Empire, the home of meetings and demonstrations of every kind. I looked and hoped for some expression of indignation from the Japanese people originating there, but nothing happened; no indignation meeting, no burning protests in the press, no denunciation by any political party, no evidence of any kind of concern for the welfare of the Koreans, for the maintenance of righteousness, or for the honor of the Empire. I am reminded forcibly of what a friend said to me at the time of the "Conspiracy Case", "The trouble with the Japanese is that they lack the capacity for moral indignation as wrong done to others." It really seems so. The "capacity for moral indignation" is lacking, and hence it is a matter of no concern to the Japanese, apparent that unnumbered Koreans are shot, burnt and burned by men in the

uniform of the Empire.

Do not the Japanese people see that such things inevitably affect the world's judgment of them? An outrage by Japanese troops, if a isolated case, promptly disowned and properly punished, would be readily forgiven; but not this apathy, that gives itself no trouble to protest. That becomes a measure of the material character, an index of the fitness of the race to associate on equal terms with civilized mankind and to be entrusted with the destiny of undeveloped peoples. It has been said that in the long run every people has the government it deserves to have. It may equally be said that in the long run every people has the army it deserves to have. Those of us who loved and honored Germany of history strove for a long time to make a distinction between the German people and the German military machine. But the attempt broke down on the face of a cumulative evidence that the nation approved the doings of the army. The German army was what it was, and did what it did because the German people will the world be able to look upon the German people with the old respect. The same road is open to the Japanese and there is too too much reason to fear they are walking in it.

The same apathy was observed in connection with the Korean Conspiracy Case, seven years ago. The facts were given to the public at the time by the Japan Chronicle and the Japan Advertiser, and it was shown that there was no foundation whatever for the charges that there had been a conspiracy to assassinate the Gov. General. It was not, indeed, a deliberate invention of the Japanese police, but was the product of their incompetence on the one hand and of their criminal disregard of the rights of the accused on the other. One hundred and fifty men were arrested, 123 put on trial, and finally six men were convicted of a crime that never took place except in the imagination of the police and law officers. Nine others, on the course of the investigation, most of the prisoners were tortured with fiendish cruelty, and were forced to confess to falsehood. One or two men were done to death in prison, one or two more were driven insane by their sufferings, and others were sent away with scared or broken bodies to their homes. The case excited lively interest all over the world - except Japan. Whose were concerned over the fate of the unhappy men thus unjustly treated, the Japanese were not. The deliberate violation of the law, the flaunting disregard of elementary justice, and the callous contempt for the rights of humanity displayed by the authorities in Korea in that memorable case excited indignant protest in England and America, but in Japan there was no voice, none any that regarded General Terauchi upon whom rested the ultimate official responsibility, as it rests now upon Gen. N., was made Prime Minister of Japan, and General Akashi, who was directly responsible, as head of the Gendarmes, is now Gov. General of Formosa.

Here lies the serious moral failure of the Japanese people. Crimes against humanity have been committed by the military of all countries. They stain the record of America and England as well as the records of other nations. It is probably impossible to take such measures as will absolutely eliminate them, just as no country can put a stop to other forms of crime. The difference between countries fit to govern subject peoples and those unfit lies here? That in the former these crimes arouse stern and fierce indignation while in the latter they are regarded with unconcern. From the days when Warren Hastings was impeached in Parliament for his offense against the people of India, to the most recent atrocities alleged against the American troops in the Philippines, the people of England and America have felt and discharged their responsibility to hold their representatives to a strict accountability for what they did to helpless people of districts under military occupation. If the Japanese did likewise there would be hope for permanent improvement in Korea, but as it is, the question arises whether any improvement is to come.

A Japanese friend of mine, of high ideals and noble activities, said to me the other day in despair. "What shocks you in some affair in Korea is but one little symptom of a disease that pervades the entire nation. Was he right?"

There is however something to be said in defense of the Japanese people at large, and that is that the Press does not give them full information. Not long ago a friend of mine heard a local newspaper man say, "Things are pretty bad over there in Korea. We have information that our troops are killing women and children, but of course we are not going to put it into the papers." "If comes not!" I wondered at the time why not, but I learned later that the Government had sent out an instruction, not an order, but an urgent request - to the papers to publish as little as possible about the Korean affair. So the Government thinks that one of its functions is to keep the people ignorant, and takes the attack as a model of political wisdom.

The result is that the world at large knows what is going on in Japan and Korea but the Japanese people do not. Years ago Dr. Hinds E. Harkness, at one time adviser to the Japanese Government, said to me, "You will often hear it said by the Japanese that we foreigners cannot understand them. The fact is, in many respects we understand them better than they understand themselves." Surely it must be so until the press learns to do its duty. Unfounded accusations against the American missionaries in Korea, and the Americans in the far East in general are given constant publicity as undoubted facts, while well authenticated reports of the Sin gen massacre are suppressed, as if for the Japanese people to be ignorant of such things means that the rest of the world does not know them either! Thus, after this folly has born its legitimate fruit in the strange-wear of the Chinese and in growing anti-Japanese feeling all over the world, the Japanese newspapers naively wonder why the whole world is so unreasonable.

Allow me to commend this whole situation to the friends of Japan the world over and especially that large and growing class of intelligent and patriotic Japanese who read the Japan Advertiser. It is not a time for silence, or for soft speeches in praise of what has been accomplished along the line of afforestation, road building and other material interests of the Korean peninsula. How long shall these things be held to atone for the denial of elementary justice and for unnumbered acts of oppression? The Koreans are men, and must be accorded the elementary rights of mankind first, but there is small prospect that they will get them from the Japanese government unless an aroused public opinion in Japan demands it. It holds it the duty of every intelligent and patriotic Japanese to assist in arousing and in giving expression to such an enlightened public opinion by speaking out.

"Say not: 'The days are evil, who's to blame?'"

And fold the hands and acquiesce in shame!

Stand up, speak out, and bravely, in God's name."